

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LIMA 01396 01 OF 02 191528Z

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05

PC-01 EB-08 COME-00 DHA-02 /072 W

-----191551 113779 /53

R 182300Z FEB 77

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3774

INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY QUITO

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LIMA 1396

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: MPOL, PINT, SHUM. PE

SUBJECT: PLAN "TUPAC AMARU" - THE GREAT DEBATE

REF: LIMA 1036

SUMMARY: THE GOP IS ACCEPTING SUGGESTIONS ON ITS PLAN " TUPAC AMARU" FROM INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS DURING THE PERIOD OF FEBRUARY 18 THROUGH MARCH 23. PRELIMINARY COMMENTS OF POLITICAL GROUPS AND THE INDEPENDENT PRESS HAVE ALREADY BEEN EXPRESSED. MOST COMMENTATORS PRAISE THE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS FRANK ADMISSION OF ERRORS BUT CRITICIZE THE PLAN FOR ITS VAGUENESS ON ELECTIONS, THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE FORM OF FUTURE CIVILIAN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. ACCION POPULAR CALLS UPON THE MILITARY TO "PACK ITS BAGS" NOW. HAYA DE LA TORRE, SPEAKING FOR APRA, MORE CAUTIOUSLY DRAWS PARALLELS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT PLAN AND APRA PROGRAMS WHILE DEMANDING EARLY ELECTIONS. THE COMMUNIST PARTY UNHAPPILY NOTES THAT THE GOP IS RENEGING ON ITS COMMITMENT TO TRANSFER POWER TO THE WORKERS BEFORE ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE. THE GOP PLANS TO REMAIN SERENE, RECEIVE SUGGESTIONS AND THEN HAVE THE ALL-MILITARY COMMISSION PRODUCE A FINAL DOCUMENT IN TIME FOR THE JULY INDEPENDENCE DAY CEREMONY. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 LIMA 01396 01 OF 02 191528Z

1. BEGINNING FEBRUARY 18 UNTIL MARCH 23 THE GOP WILL ACCEPT COMMENTARY ON ITS DRAFT PLAN "TUPAC AMARU" FROM CITIZENS, POLITICAL PARTIES, TRADE UNIONS, SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER GROUPS. IN KEEPING WITH THE MILGOV"STRUCTURED" APPROACH, SUGGESTIONS ARE TO BE PREPARED IN WRITING ON "OFFICIAL SIZE PAPER" AND IN DUPLICATE. THEY ARE TO REFER TO INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS OF

THE GOVERNMENT PLAN AND BE SPECIFIC IN NATURE. PERSONS ARE TO AFFIX THEIR NAMES, E.E. NUMBER AND ADDRESS. LEGALLY-RECOGNIZED ORGANIZATIONS WILL SIMILARLY IDENTIFY THEMSELVES. SUGGESTIONS ARE TO BE PLACED IN SPEDIAL RECEPTACLES FOR TRANSMITTAL TO THE MILITARY COMMISSION RESPONSIBLE FOR PLAN "TUPAC AMARU".

SIMUL-

TANEOUSLY THE DAILY PRESS WILL "OPEN ITS PAGES" TO COMMENTARY. THUS WHAT HAS BEEN TERMED HERE THE "MAILBOX DIALOGUE" BEGINS.

2. PRELIMINARY COMMENTS FROM THE RECENTLY-REOPENED INDEPENDENT MAGAZINES AND OF SOME POLITICAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS ARE ALREADY ON RECORD. REMARKS IN THE DAILY PRESS TO DATE HAVE CONSISTED LARGELY OF ENCOMIUMS TO THE GOP ON THE PART OF OFFICIALS, SYCO-PHANTS, AND THE "MAN IN THE STREET". CRITICAL MAGAZINE COMMENTARY IS CONCERNED ALMOST ENTIRELY WITH THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE PLAN, WITH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS CONSIDERED TO BE EITHER NON-CONTROVERSIAL OR INDEPENDENT ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

3. REGARDING DIALOGUE PROCEDURES, THE POLITICAL JOURNALS CONTEND THAT THE MAILBOX APPROACH IS WHOLLY INADEQUATE. THEY CALL FOR OPEN DEBATE UTILIZING TV AND RADIO. SOME ARGUE THAT THERE CAN BE NO NATIONAL DEBATE AS LONG AS THE SUSPENSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES CONTINUES AND SOME PUBLICATIONS REMAIN CLOSED (IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE GOVERNMENT-ORGANIZED CTRP TRADE UNION ALSO DEMANDED AN END TO EMERGENCY MEASURES SO THAT "LABOR AND POPULAR ORGANIZATONS" CAN FREELY PARTICIPATE IN THE DEBATE).

4. THE POLITICAL JOURNALS CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR DELIBERATE VAGUENESS REGARDING THE ELECTION TIMETABLE, THE FORMULAT-
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 LIMA 01396 01 OF 02 191528Z

ION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION, AND ELECTION PROCEDURES. WOULD A CONSTI-TUTIONAL ASSEMBLYBE FREELY ELECTED OR WOULD THE CONSTITUTION BE WRITTEN BY THE SAME ANONYMOUS MILITARY COMMISSION? ARE GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OR FOR SOME OTHER KIND OF "NON-TRADITIONAL REPRESENTATIVES"? WOULD THE BALLOT BE UNIVERSAL, DIRECT AND SECRET OR THROUGH SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS?

5. MOST POLITICAL PARTIES AND LABOR GROUPS HAVE YET TO EXPRESS OPINIONS ON THEPLAN. ONLY THE ACCION POPULAR (AP) HAS OFFICIALLY GONE ON RECORD. ITS JUDGEMENT IS HARSH. IN EFFECT AP TELLS THE MILI

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TARY TO "PACK ITS BAGS" NOW AND DEVOTE ITSELF TO MILITARY MATTERS. AP DOES PRAISE THE GOP FOR ITS FRANK ADMISSION OF ERRORS BUT THEN CALLS FOR A POLITICAL PLAN TO BE DRAWN UP BY THE PARTIES AND OTHER CIVILIAN GROUPS. AP FURTHER DEMANDS A TOTAL TRANSFER OF POWER THROUGH DIRECT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE TO A CIVILIAN EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATURE BY JULY 28, 1978 (INDEPENDENCE DAY). AP TERMS THE GOVERNMENT PLAN "GENERIC, IMPRECISE AND CONFUSED". IT ARGUES THAT THE 1933 CONSTITUTION IS ADEQUATE AND PROVIDES

FOR POLITICAL PLURALISM AS WELL AS GUARANTEEING THE HUMAN RIGHTS
CONTAINED IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHT. AS FOR
INSTITUTIONALIZING REVOLUTIONARY REFORMS IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION,
AP CLAIMS THERE HAVE BEEN NO REFORMS TO INSTITUTIONALIZE.

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PAGE 01 LIMA 01396 02 OF 02 191549Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LIMA 1396

5. HAYA DE LA TORRE WILL SPEAK FOR APRA AT A FEBRUARY 19
RALLY IN TRUJILLO (THE PLANNED FEBRUARY 18 LIMA RALLY WAS CAN-
CELLED FOLLOWING LAST MINUTE GOP APPROVAL OF THE RALLY ITSELF
IF HELD IN PARTY HEADQUARTERS BUT DENIAL OF AN APRA APPEAL THAT
THE CURFEW BE SUSPENDED). IN A CARETAS INTERVIEW, HAYA'S CRITI-
CISM WAS RELATIVELY MILD. HAYA SAW MANY PARALLELS BETWEEN THE
PLAN "TURPAC AMARU" AND APRA'S 1931 "ACTION PLAN". HE FAULTED THE
GOP PLAN FOR ITS FAILURE TO ADDRESS THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE
(INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CANAL HAS LONG BEEN AN APRA OBJEC-
TIVE) AND FOR LACKING AN ENERGY POLICY. IN THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL
AREA HAYA AGAIN CALLED FOR AN ECONOMIC CONGRESS (IN ADDITION TO
THE POLITICAL ONE) REPRESENTING LABOR, STATE ENTERPRISES, AND
REFORMED PRIVATE CAPITAL. ON ELECTIONS HAYA DECLARED THE MILGOV
INCOMPETENT TO SET A DATE AND OPINED THAT THE PEOPLE MIGHT WANT
GENERAL ELECTIONS NOT IN 1980 BUT IN 1978. HE SAID THAT
MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS SHOULD PRECEDE NATIONAL ELECTIONS. FINALLY
HAYA STATED THAT APRA NEVER BLINDLY OPPOSED THE MILGOV BUT ALWAYS
TOLD IT THAT ITS LAUDABLE OBJECTIVES "COULD HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED
DEMOCRATICALLY WITHOUT USING DICTATORIAL METHODS".

6. THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS MADE A "PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS" OF
THE PLAN "TURPAC AMARU". IT FAULTS THE MILITARY FOR COMMITTING
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 LIMA 01396 02 OF 02 191549Z

ITSELF TO RELINQUISH THE GOVERNMENT BEFORE ORIGINAL REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. THE PARTY DECLARES THAT IT IS NOT OPPOSED TO "ALL FORMS OF ELECTIONS" BUT THAT POWER SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE WORKERS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS BEFORE ELECTIONS ARE HELD. BECAUSE THE PLAN "TUPAC AMARU" NO LONGER GUARANTEES THE PRIOR TRANSFER, IT IS IN CONFLICT WITH THE PLAN INCA, ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE GOVERNMENT IS CRITICIZED FURTHER FOR BACKSLIDING ON THE PROMISED TURN-OVER OF THE PRESS TO "THOSE ORIGINALLY INDICATED" AND FOR FAILURE TO SUPPORT SOCIAL PROPERTY AS A REVOLUTIONARY PRIORITY.

7. PUBLIC OPINION AND VIGOROUS CRITICISM IS BEING AND WILL BE EXPRESSED. BUT THE CHIEF OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORS (COAP) TOLD EMBOFF FEBRUARY 17 THAT THE MILGOV WILL CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITY. IT WILL SERENELY STUDY SUGGESTIONS BUT THE DECISION ON THE FINAL PLAN REMAINS AN EXCLUSIVELY MILITARY ONE. HE SAID THAT BOTH THE PLAN "TUPAC AMARU" AND A MORE SPECIFIC POLITICAL PLAN WOULD BE READY FOR THE JULY 28 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. HE FELT THAT MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD IN 1978 AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN 1980, LEADING TO A FINAL TRANSFER OF POWER ON INDEPENDENCE DAY IN 1981. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER, HAVEINGOPENED THE POLITICAL DEBATE, THE MILGOV CAN MAINTAIN ITS SERENITY AND ITS FIRM GRIP ON THE REINS OF POWER UNTIL THAT TIME.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEBATES, FORM OF GOVERNMENT
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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Drafter: n/a
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Executive Order: GS
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Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 LIMA 1036
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3283221
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PLAN \"TUPAC AMARU\" - THE GREAT DEBATE
TAGS: MPOL, PINT, SHUM, PE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/01a17cc4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009